

3.

Is all we want worth a Civil War?

(Price One Shilling.)

THE CIVIL WAR

MORTON

CIVIL WAR

The Constitutional Triumphant

Upon the

PRESENT CRISIS

London

1861. 12mo. 12s. 6d.

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR BY J. R. GREEN

ALL WE WANT

WORTH

A C I V I L W A R?

O R,

Conciliatory Thoughts

UPON THE

PRESENT CRISIS.

Quis furor, O Civis? qua tanta licentia ferri?

LUCAN.

L O N D O N:

PRINTED FOR J. RIDGWAY,

YORK-STREET, ST. JAMES'S-SQUARE.

Dec. 1792.

IS ALL WE WANT

CIVIL RIGHTS

CIVIL WARS

CIVIL RIGHTS

THE importance of difficulting the
few rich in this period is evident and
is we excepts the most extensive of possibly
upon the King's recovery from a dangerous
malady, the continuance of many more
years exposing the nation to a series of evils
Lord Burgh's usurpation and usurpation ex-
cited the public rage and led to the
royal pretenders, and by this letter is
now entirely which became it. The English
nation deeply wiser in regard to the future
differences of the powers of Tudor and Stuarts
desirous to relieve myself first of Histories
which had been called in for no other rea-
son but of English. Several roles performed
these. A number of historical to several parts of the
English, as I might be, since the old

~~All we want is to make our country~~

~~safe and to have all the rights of a free people~~
~~and to have no master but God and his own~~
~~own self.~~

IS ALL WE WANT

~~and to have no master but God and his own~~
~~self.~~

WORTH A CIVIL WAR?

THE progress of discontent during the present reign has been gradual and uniform, if we except the short effervescence of loyalty upon the King's recovery from a dangerous malady, the continuance of which would have exposed the nation to a choice of evils. Lord Bute's unpropitious administration excited the public rage and scorn by its tory principles, and by the secret favouritism which pervaded it. The English nation sighed when it beheld the tyrannic doctrines of the houses of Tudor and Stuart beginning to revive under that of Hanover, which had been called in for no other reason but to guard against those pernicious tenets. An individual of talents, but of little pretension to principle, arose, and opposed

the regenerating serpent of prerogative. He deprived it of some of its fangs. The Herculean strength of Junius succeeded: but the noxious animal retired rather enraged than injured.

These attempts of two champions excited the applause of the people, who as yet knew not that liberty and whiggism are far from being synonymous words. A change of Ministry was in those dark times sufficient to appease the clamours of the nation; nor was it yet open to the public apprehension that all ministers are composed of tories when in power, and whigs when in opposition; that a change of men thus produces no change of measures, and that the national treasures are only exposed to greater rapacity from a succession of new masters, like the wounded fox and the flies in the fable.

The American war forms the most important event which has yet occurred during the present reign. Had gentleness and lenity been exerted on that occasion, on the part of government, instead of such despotic mandates as now issue from the pens of a Dundas and a Grenville, that expensive war might have been spared; the trumpet of republicanism would not have sounded its awful tones in America and in France; an additional load of taxes would not have accumulated our evils till they produced the pre-

present formidable discontents. But it is the nature of violence to counteract its own purposes, and the very infatuation of error produces in the end more beneficial effects than the slow and silent step of truth. The rash hand that cuts the gordian knot only accomplishes the oracle.

When we behold Mr. Pitt arise into power, upon the supposition that he would promote a Parliamentary Reform, and of late prove on repeated occasions the most decided enemy of that measure; when we behold the Duke of Richmond, at one time the warmest patron of universal representation, at another fortifying the tower against those who demand it, can we form any further idea of political caprice and depravity? It is unnecessary to detail many unpopular measures of the present administration. The wanton and unprovoked military preparations have plunged the country into additional taxes. The commutation tax unjustly transfers a duty on a transitory luxury, the fashion of which has not lasted above half a century, and may not last a quarter of a century longer, into a permanent stipulation on the free and necessary light of heaven. Advantage was even taken of the generous loyalty of the people on the royal convalescence, to extend the odious excise laws to a flagitious degree, unworthy of the freedom of Englishmen. The shop-tax betrayed a

a long

a long suspected principle of government, that of oppressing the middle class of the people, by far the most useful in a state, in order that a rich oligarchy, corrupted by our rulers, might govern at will. Difficult would it be to prove that in any instance Mr. Pitt has shewn himself the friend of the people. That the country is in a state of high wealth and prosperity is granted with exultation: *etia perpetua!* But this prosperous condition arises from a necessary progress; in part from the distressed situation of neighbouring realms, and in a great measure from that very peace which the minister has so often attempted in vain to interrupt.—May heaven avert that our national prosperity should at any time depend upon one man, or that Englishmen should ever indulge so degrading an idea!

It is the sacred intention of this Pamphlet to conciliate and not to inflame; nor must the above reflections be considered as proceeding from any enmity against the ministry, which is probably as meritorious as the state of affairs could have afforded, but as presenting a necessary sketch of some causes of the prevalent discontents.

As the smoke of a volcano, invisible in the night, becomes an object of awful observation when day appears, so have our political evils assumed a darker hue from the constant

stant progress of mental light. Reason and truth begin widely to extend their benignant rays into every rank of mankind, and oppression becomes the more intolerable the better it is known. The ignorance of our fathers was pleased with the rattling of their feudal chains, and in the darkness of the times mistook for a golden ornament what was really a fetter of iron. But at present political knowledge has begun to extend so widely, that even the peasant knows his rights, and can say to the proudest minister, "thus far" has ambition

No where had this general illumination more prevailed than in France, immediately before and at the time of her revolution. This event arose from the preceding propagation of reason, and sprang in the same order of nature that plants do from roots. It, however, attracted the wonder and admiration of Europe; and doubtless grand was the spectacle of a nation of slaves starting up citizens "because they willed it."

Congeniality of sentiments particularly excited in the British nation a warm sensation of this revolution, which was applauded by all parties till it had proceeded above the temperature of our government thermometer. Then, and not till then, were the treasury newspapers ordered to open their batteries of rusty nails and stink-pots against

against it. But when Mr. Burke appeared, armed cap-a-pe, like a true knight of chivalry, and threw down the gauntlet, what heart was not appalled!

Yet to this champion are we chiefly indebted for bringing the French affairs home to our own business and bosoms, while, had he not appeared, we might perhaps have viewed them at a distance as an object of mere curiosity. Among his numerous antagonists Mr. Paine must be ranked as the chief, a writer of strong, blunt sense, admirably adapted to impress the common mind, but perhaps too unaware of the delicate line which divides licentiousness from liberty. The extensive circulation of his writings has no doubt contributed much to arouse the attention of the people to their grievances, and to excite that dangerous spirit which threatens a total revolution in this country, a measure apparently not to be gained without the horrible disasters of a civil war.

The numerous democratic societies formed in various parts of the kingdom form not so just a cause of alarm as the efforts used by government to suppress them. The royal proclamation of last May recommended a sort of inquisition in this country, and the

the friends of government were placed in the honourable situation of spies upon the people. If the government of this nation be really good, it must have the approbation of the majority, and may rest secure; if bad, this proclamation only exposed its weakness. Like a Brunswick manifesto, it threatens what cannot be performed. But it is a singular feature of the times that the monarchs of Europe cannot maintain a dignified silence, but must commit themselves against mankind by exposing their fears. Complete silence might awe the public mind, as proceeding from a conscious strength, whereas vaunts and clamours only indicate debility.

When the allied armies of Prussia and Austria entered France, universal was the alarm among the friends of liberty. The best disciplined troops in Europe, to the number of one hundred and twenty thousand, were opposed to an undisciplined array. Even the manifesto of the leader had its influence on the public apprehension, as it was not to be supposed that such a writing could appear, except founded on a certainty that there was much concealed treason in France. But when the Prussian and Austrian armies retreated and melted away, when the French republic poured its force into Germany and the Austrian Netherlands,

lands, and emancipated the latter from the yoke of despotism, the cause of liberty began to resume its vigour, and the efforts of the friends of the people received fresh animation.

To contemplate only the British empire, we at present behold a majority of the people of England earnestly engaged in forwarding a redress of their grievances. The slow but firm spirit of Scotland is at length aroused, and she will no longer submit to be treated as a conquered province. The shameful ministerial list of her sixteen peers; the rejection of her petition for redress in her burgh elections, so ill-judged at the present time, form but small parts of her slavery. In Ireland three quarters of the people are Roman Catholics, and now aspire to the rights of citizens. In both the latter countries conventions are held, and the boldest measures decided on. In short, an universal ferment pervades the three kingdoms.

Conscious of this, the government begins to testify every appearance of alarm. Fresh proclamations are issued, a great part of the militia is ordered to be arrayed, ten thousand soldiers stationed in various villages within ten miles of London, ships prepared,

so much terror and desolation has been prepared; and even the tower of London fortified and put in a state of war.

Such being the critical position of the country, it becomes the peculiar duty of every honest man to promote the cause of conciliation, and to prevent, if possible, the effusion of blood. With this view the present pamphlet is written, and it is hoped may afford views which may completely conciliate all parties, and secure our internal peace for centuries to come.

The ideas of moderate men of both the democratic and ruling parties must afford the sole basis for such a conciliation, and it is proper in the first place to present some notion of those ideas. To begin with the democratic side :

Nothing short of a revolution can deliver this country from innumerable evils. These evils are so deeply and widely rooted, that every part, great and small, must be torn up, as in the case of some noxious plants, where, if you leave even the smallest part of the root, a fresh plant may arise. A monarch and a house of peers are both useless and expensive; nor can the people entrust their laws or properties to their natural enemies. The nation is the sole sovereign, and is no longer to be insulted with

the

the terms "my people, my parliament," such as an owner of a herd of cattle might use. The church cannot be worse ordered than it is; its members either rich and proud, or poor and mean. That it has not an inquisitorial power is not owing to its want of the most severe ecclesiastical laws for that purpose, but because the spirit of the people prevents their exertion. Yet, such is its influence, by its wealth and craft, that hardly is any country more priest-ridden than England. As to our laws, they are numerous, useless, sanguinary, and unjust beyond all excess; they ought to be totally abrogated, with the ridiculous feudal usages and legal fictions on which they stand, and a new and simple code formed, as in some other countries, adapted to modern times. The practice of the law is so expensive that justice itself is sold for far more than it is worth; new courts should supplant the old, and the administration of law be reduced to one hundredth part of its present expence. Our red-book pensions should be completely erased, and the country relieved from one-half of its taxes. Such are the chief evils. The chief good desired is a National Convention, chosen by the people at large, which might at once remove these and other lesser evils.

Now let us hear the opposite party;

The

The abolition of monarchy and aristocracy in this country would be a rash measure, and might be attended with far worse evils than those removed. Our constitution has been long tried, and is preferable on that account to untried systems, which in other countries may be found to fail in a very short time. Nor is it consistent with the dignity of a great nation to change a model of government, under which it has prospered, for a scheme not yet sufficiently tried in any large country, and which, upon the experience of a few years, may be found completely visionary, and productive of innumerable evils. It is remarkable, that Aristotle, Polybius, and other great authors, who lived in commonwealths, have ever preferred the monarchical form of government as the most stable and beneficial to mankind during any long period, and even as the least tyrannic, for many are the tyrannies of a democracy. When the other countries of Europe have altered their governments it will be sufficient time for this country to begin, for it certainly wants a revolution less than others which groan under despotic power, or aristocracy, and if not the most free, confessedly stands second in theory, perhaps first in practice. Our royal family being of late foreign extract, and remarkable for having never produced

duced a man of abilities, can do little harm, and is indeed exactly such a house as was wanted for the security of our constitution. In speaking of princes, I shall never forget that they are gentlemen, but I may be permitted to say, that the more contemptible our kings are so much the better, and in this respect we need not fear hereditary succession which promises much to improve our monarchy. All our constitution wants is a man to fill the throne, lest an usurper, an able tyrant, should seize the vacant seat. Our present monarch bears a most amiable character : put any one of us in his place, and the fondness for an increase of power will seize the most humble! As to our nobles they are formidable, as constituting a legislative house, and as sometimes supporting the throne against the people; but in no great question have they dared, or will they dare to oppose the national voice, especially with the example of the French aristocracy before their eyes. The democratic fanatics ridicule their legislative and judicial capacity, for how, say they, can men be born legislators and judges? Yet mark the contradiction ; the same assailants insist that all men are born legislators and judges. Gibbon has well remarked, that Voltaire, in his perfection of religion, has shewn himself a fanatic, and fanaticism and intolerance

intolerance may certainly appear, and are equally to be dreaded on all sides. In private life, if you except some gamblers and jockies, who it is to be hoped will cease to degrade themselves, lest they be degraded, our peers are far removed from the model of the French noblesse, and are more modest and humble than our purse-proud citizens, not to mention that their minds are generally cultivated by the best education. That they should no longer occupy their numerous posts and pensions, provide for their relations at the public expence, nor interfere in elections of members of the other house, is readily granted. Nor will I refuse that the nation, if you chuse, be first named on all public occasions; we contend not for forms. Our church may be easily new modelled, by taking from its rich members and giving to its poor. As to our laws I will completely give them up to the reform you desire. But all that is really wanted, as it must be preceded, so it may be easily accomplished by a reformed house of commons; and a national convention would of itself be a revolution, an event not to be established without a civil war.

Having attended to this brief sketch of the ideas of both parties, such as the intended small limits of this pamphlet per-

mitted, let us proceed to examine if a revolution could be established in this country, as in France, without a civil war; if all we want be worth a civil war; and lastly, to point out the means not only to avoid the imminence of that dreadful calamity but to prevent its necessity, under the protection of heaven, for centuries to come. The reader will, it is hoped, pardon the extreme brevity with which these important points are treated, as this pamphlet is limited to a small size and price, that its good intention may be more universal, especially among the people at large, for whom it is chiefly calculated.

Were the principle of equality of property contended for by the democratic party it would be unquestionable that a civil war must ensue, nay, the country might be thrice washed with blood, and after all the measure not be attainable. But as this equality must be regarded as a mere impudication alledged by the ruling party to blacken their antagonists, it shall be passed over, after remarking that the equality established by the French constitution, is that of birth, freedom, rights: and equality of talents, station, and property, is specially rejected, and indeed can take place in no state any more than equality of personal strength or beauty.

beauty. If any men be so wild as to contend for equality of property they are the worst enemies of freedom; anarchy would attend their projects, and mankind would wish for the superior happiness of an Ottoman government. Depredations of property would in like manner ruin the best cause, and metamorphose reformers into robbers. All property is protected by the laws, and without laws mankind would be savages.

Setting this apart, it is hardly to be expected that a civil war can be avoided, if either the democratic or the ruling party adhere to all the rigour of their principles. If the former wish to take all, and even establish a revolution; or if the latter will grant nothing, a resolve, which they have too long desperately and unwisely adhered to, the utmost extremities must proceed from such a remote collision. The question indeed remains, whether the court party can muster up sufficient strength to oppose the people, consisting of ninety-nine in a hundred; but the command of money and arms is much in favour of the former. Yet it is to be doubted, whether the soldiery, or any common men, armed against the rights of common men, would cordially support the cause they were engaged in; and the experience of other countries shews

the contrary. But in a government accustomed to stand upon the influence of money, as the English, and obliged, even by the democratic form of the constitution, to extend that influence into numerous ramifications, in order to secure the support of the people, it would seem that the friends of government must be many, not to mention those who may, from principle, prefer it to a change. So that the example of France is not strictly applicable, as in that country the people were universally neglected and despised by the monarch, and aristocracy; and the very excess of the tyranny was, as usual, the cause of its rapid destruction. Nor can it be denied, that the mildness of our monarchy and aristocracy, and the blessings enjoyed by many under our constitution as it stands, must have secured the attachment of numbers. Though it be granted, that many of those who are now well affected to our constitution would instantly change with any change, as is the nature of unprincipled man; yet as far as information can now be established, there is every reason to infer that the favourers of our present system are not few, and that though the hope of ultimately prevailing upon their side would be vain, still they would make a desperate and sanguinary contest. The very duration of the present reign, and of the

present ministry, affords an additional argument, as the ruling influence must thereby have taken the deeper root ; so that, upon the whole, there is great reason to infer that a revolution could not be accomplished in this country, without that greatest of calamities—a civil war of some duration.

Such being the case, the second grand question arises,—*Is all we want worth a Civil War?* By this it is not meant solely to infer that the democratic party should give up their cause in order to avoid a civil war, a measure by no means to be expected from their consciousness of superior strength, but also that our rulers cannot be vindicated in the sight of God or man, if they persist in their pride and caprice, and thereby plunge this country into so horrible a calamity. In other words, say to the ministry, “ Is all we want from you of such importance, that you would rather venture on a civil war, than absent to the rights of the people ? ”

Hardly can there exist any democrat or aristocrat, of common principle, so violent as to answer this question in the affirmative. On the democratic side it must be granted, that it would be far more eligible to permit our constitution to remain as it is, and entrust its emendation to some future ministry, more

conscious that the progress of government must keep pace with the illumination of mankind, or to future occasions which may of themselves develope events which now appear impossibilities.

"Tunc quod optani Divum promittere nemo,
"Auderis, volvenda dies enattulit ultra."

This country is in a state of high prosperity, and its true policy apparently is to remain in absolute quiet, internal and external, and thus derive every advantage from the political disorders of its neighbours. Our political system is corrupt, but this is by no means an age of innocence, and were even a democracy established, perhaps an equal, though now unforeseen corruption might ensue. Nor is it a little remarkable, that the most democratic part of our constitution is even at present the most tyrannic. A ministry imposes a fixed tax, while a vestry can at any time alter the sum of poor-rates, &c. to a far greater. The same observation applies to the various democratic parts of our present system, which are condescended on by Mr. Paine, as proofs that much of the internal government of this country is really democratic, and carried on by the people themselves, without any expence to our rulers. Numerous petty tyrants, whose obscurity incites and covers their crimes, are far

far more to be dreaded than a few great ones, moving in a luminous orbit, and observed by the suspicious eye of a whole people. Our taxes are great, but few examples appear of their being ruinous ; they have only attended the progress of wealth, as in all other countries and ages : they are equitably proportioned, the nobles and the clergy are not exempted as in France, but every man contributes to the exigencies of the state in the just ratio of his riches. Oppression either aristocratic or clerical, is more ideal than real : the beggar, the noble, and the bishop, are equal in the eyes of the law. Property must ever command influence, but the influence exerted by it in this country is far more generally of the gentle, and not of the severe kind. Notwithstanding those and many other advantages, there is no doubt that our constitution might admit of the most beneficial alterations ; but are these improvements, and far less the dubious experiment of a democracy, to be put in the balance with the horrors of a civil war ? No democrat, except one whole languinary heart would delight to derive honour or profit from the blood of his brethren, can answer this question in the affirmative.

But let not, on the other hand, the ruling party derive a fallacious security from this pro-

proposition, or imagine the lightning of the national will less dreadful because unattended by thunder. Even imaginary evils may produce the most violent convulsions ; nay, the prosperity of a nation may sometimes be as dreadful to its rulers as its adversity. If the desires of a majority in the three kingdoms for some improvements in our constitution were even excited by that caprice which often attends prosperity, still our rulers cannot in conscience answer for the violent discontents and commotions which may attend their failure in compliance.— Poor would be the compensation for even a continuance of that want of confidence which now prevails in society, in which a difference of political tenets is attended with all the insolence of power, or all the suspicion of secret enmity, were the lives of two or three obnoxious ministers sacrificed in revenge : for, indeed, what revenge could correspond to the magnitude of the offence of sowing the seeds of civil war—of throwing ardent spirits upon the national flame, instead of quenching it with the liberal waters of prudent concession ? Wisdom dictates that the very causes of discontent should be extinguished, and that not only present commotion, but the essential source of future disturbances should be removed, that we may not behold a government armed against the people ;

people; but that all animosities beingrooted out, we may sit down as brethren in unanimity. Violent men on either side will never be satisfied; but the contempt of the good, and even of the many, will be their sufficient punishment. Government may repeatedly erect and repair their present barriers, the stream of popular discontent will as often corrode them, till bursting through in some unfortunate hour, it sweep all before it. A sort of inquisition now prevails in this country; the freedom of the press, and of conversation is invaded; the fury of the ruling party brands even moderate men with the name of levellers; Englishmen are degraded into spies upon their brethren; our spirit seems extinct; but dreadful is the stillness which precedes a tempest. Men of firm attachment to our constitution begin to fear that despotism has only passed the channel, and the infamous slavery of the government papers for some years past seems to indicate approaching tyranny. Is this prudent conduct at such a period, or is it infatuation? *Quos Jupiter vult perdere prius dementat.*—In the name of impartiality, candour, and common sense, is not this the very time that conciliation and moderate conduct should be pursued, in order to prevent the most shocking consequences? “It is not yet time,” was the answer of Sir Robert Walpole, to the dif-

dissenters, and when asked by a confidential friend, "when the time would come," he answered, "never." But the nation is too enlightened to be longer deceived by such puerile pretences; and ministers ought, for their own sakes, to use no farther delay, least the national voice should put their choice of time entirely out of their power, and convert a merit into a necessity. To return more closely to the question—"Is all we want worth a Civil War?"—Can our rulers affirm that it is better to risk that last calamity, than to concede to the nation a few improvements of our constitution? Can they say, that a Parliamentary Reform, or abridgment of the pension list, and of our taxes are to be refused at this expence?—The most violent aristocrat must answer—No.

But the important questions remain:—What is the will of the majority of the nation? How is it to be estimated? How are the utmost limits of concession to be defined, that necessary grants may not be followed by those which are unnecessary, till the government sinks, betrayed by its own weakness, a fate yet more ignoble than a subversion by open storm?

The plain and easy answer to all these questions is:—By a National Convention, ordered to be called by government itself.

Let

Let not this measure be deemed too bold, for the limitations after to be specified will moderate its force. It may at once be pronounced unconstitutional; but so are the evils complained of, and violent diseases of necessity require strong and uncommon remedies! And it certainly will prove in the end the only measure by which, as before mentioned, we may not only avoid the imminence of a civil war, but prevent that calamity, under the protection of heaven, for centuries to come.

It is an evident proposition, that such is the spirit of the times, and the progress of freedom and reason among mankind, that the improvements of our constitution must be assigned to the people as absolute rights, and not granted in the high tone of concessions. The absurdity of an architect, who should pretend to rear a pyramid upon its point, instead of placing it firm upon its broad basis, would be nothing when compared with a Government which should pretend, at the present day, to grant charters of liberties to the nation by whose assent alone it stands. To give complete satisfaction to the people, they must decide upon the rights they have to claim, and their moderation may be trusted, if thus courted by the confidence of a government which knows

knows it has nothing to fear from their equitable decision ; for our abuses cannot by the most bigoted be imputed to our present rulers, but have crept in during a series of ages, and chiefly by the neglect of the people themselves. Any reforms held out by the ruling party will be with great reason regarded with a suspicious eye : they may for a time stem the torrent, but its future force will only be the more dreadful. But a National Convention would prove an universal panacea, and unborn generations would have reason to blefs the monarch who would propose such a measure, and commit his virtues to the free voice of a free people.

It is unnecessary longer to insist on the self-apparent expediency of such a measure, which alone can satisfy all parties present and to come, and prevent any farther clamours for revolution, and any farther danger of civil commotion. Nor need the various regulations be condescended on ; such as that the Convention should be fairly chosen by all who pay taxes ; that it should not consist of less than a thousand members from the three kingdoms ; that no Government influence be allowed, &c. but it is indispensable that the limitations of this Convention be pointed out, that it may not in itself be confidered as a revolution.

The

1. The Convention shall be solely deliberative, and shall not aspire to the title of a legislative or constituent body, for the present constitution shall exist in all its branches. The Convention shall only gather and represent the free wishes of the people; and a House of Commons, new-modelled as the nation desires, the King and the Lords, shall pass its representations into constitutional laws.
2. To prevent any usurpation of legislative or constituent power by the Convention, the people who elect, and the representatives chosen, shall swear to preserve the present form of our constitution by King, Lords, and Commons, and to regard the present convention as solely deliberative.
3. The writs to the several counties, towns, &c. shall be issued in the name of the King, Lords, and Commons, and shall declare the Convention only deliberative; and any constituent or legislative power, which designing members may wish to usurp, completely null and of no effect.
4. The time of the sitting of the Convention shall be limited to a few months.

5. It

5. It shall express the national will, and draw up deliberative instructions to be presented to parliament.

6. Some of these instructions being upon subjects of notorious abuse, shall be indispensable, others alterable or dispensable by parliament. A reform in the House of Commons, for instance, indispensable. The indispensable articles shall be passed into law by Parliament and King, on pain of the Convention's resuming its functions, and passing them into constitutional law itself, but without a shadow of farther power.

7. The dispensable articles shall be considered by Parliament, and may be passed into law wholly or partially, or rejected.

Such may be regarded as the chief outlines of this plan, which would leave the nation nothing to fear or to wish concerning its constitution; would unite all parties, and secure to these distracted realms centuries of unanimity and prosperity.

Friends, Countrymen, Brethren, of whatever national distinction, whether of England, Scotland, or Ireland; of whatever political denomination, whether tories, whigs,

whigs, aristocrats, or democrats ; of whatever ecclesiastical persuasion, whether churchmen, dissenters, catholics, or presbyterians ; listen to the sacred voice of your Country, your common parent, who thus addresses her children. Let not, O my sons, factious licence on the one side, or obduracy of power on the other, irritate your minds to deadly animosities. Oh spare me, spare the parent of your existence and of your prosperity ; tear not my bosom with intestine broils ! Let the page of history record the bitter fruits of former civil wars, by which the national success was so much retarded, and her wisdom, and arts, and sciences, were for a time obliterated. Easy it is to kindle a conflagration, but difficult to prevent its horrid progress. Ye who exult in your power, and riot in the national wealth, forget not the instability of fortune, nor the bitter pangs of remorse, when the wretch exclaims : Thus might I have done, and have been happy ! Revere the voice of freedom, of reason, of nations ; revere the gratitude of posterity ; sacrifice not your fame on the narrow altar of despotic opinion ; dare to be great, to be good. Err not as former rulers have erred, and perished ; but moderate and accommodate government to the progress of national illumination and liberty.

And

And ye who assert the rights, the sovereignty of the people, pervert not that sovereignty into tyranny. Proceed not to visionary extremes, for licentiousness is the worst enemy of freedom, and one year of anarchy is worse than ten of despotism. Exchange not a tried system, which has many evils, but all known and obviable, for a new scheme, and evils unknown, and perhaps remediless. New, very new, is the bold experiment of a democracy extending over a large country ; that of America, that of France, may vanish in a few years, and what eternal ridicule would follow the imitation of unstable examples ! Be patient, and profit by the experience and error of others, assured in the meantime, by an universal survey of Europe—of the world, that no country stands less in need of a change than this, your parent. But, to prevent the necessity of a revolution, assert with undaunted minds, immediate and radical reforms. Laugh, when ye hear it said, this is not the time ; as if at any time men had a title to be unjust, as if justice delayed be not denied. Let conciliation, let moderation, rule both parties : let those in power strengthen it, and render it more durable, by abandoning a part ; let the others be temperate in their demands, and know that contentment is the largest portion of human happiness.

T H E E N D.